



PEACE DEMONSTRATION—Japanese delegation in anti-war parade yesterday in Paris.

Peace Meeting at Versailles Ends

(Continued from Page 1) negotiation and as such are more important to Hanoi than they are to Washington.

This reasoning is thought to lie behind the fuss raised by the United States over the gathering in Versailles. There had been considerable speculation here over why the United States had chosen to direct attention to the meeting. The explanation appears to be that this is a way of signaling to the North Vietnamese that the United States is prepared to suspend the sessions for considerable periods unless, whether in private or in public, some serious negotiations can take place.

The increasingly sour U.S. attitude has also resulted from what is regarded as the tolerant attitude that France has adopted toward gatherings that are hostile to American policy. The French are felt to have violated their commitment to maintain a neutral and serene atmosphere around the talks by allowing the Versailles meeting and previous ones, as well as numerous street demonstrations.

At the closing session of the Versailles assembly today, Romesh Chandra, secretary-general of

the World Peace Council, said that it was "meant to create a favorable atmosphere that will compel the United States to negotiate seriously" on the basis of "the only just proposals."

Parade in Paris Rain
VERSAILLES, Feb. 13 (AP)—Some delegates to the anti-war

Takes Up Rogers on Offer

Humphrey Asks for Briefing After Nixon's Trip to China

By Don Oberdorfer

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13 (UPI)—

Sen. Hubert Humphrey, D.-Minn., Friday accepted an offer by Secretary of State William Rogers to provide secret information on Vietnam and other foreign-policy matters to presidential candidates.

Sen. Humphrey suggested that the first briefing, after President Nixon's trip to China, cover the substance of the talks with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai.

Mr. Rogers' offer to the presidential candidates was put forward through State Department spokesman Charles W. Bray. Mr. Bray said Sen. Humphrey had called that "presidential candidates and any member of Congress can obtain briefings on Vietnam policy on request."

Sen. Humphrey in a statement issued through his campaign office, said he was "delighted" with Mr. Rogers' offer and expressed hope that presidential aide Henry A. Kissinger and Secretary of Defense Marvin R. Laird would follow suit. He said he would make his request for a substantive briefing on the China talks in a letter to Mr. Rogers.

White House Lists Those Due in Peking

KEY BISCAYNE, Fla., Feb. 13 (NYT)—The White House announced yesterday the names of those who will accompany President and Mrs. Nixon to China as members of the official party.

The 13 "companions" names present few—if any—surprises. They are: Secretary of State William P. Rogers; Henry A. Kissinger, the President's national security adviser; E. R. Haldeman, assistant to the President; Ron Ziegler, Mr. Nixon's press secretary; Brig. Gen. Brent Scowcroft, military assistant to the President; and Marshall Green, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs.

Also, Dwight L. Chapin, deputy assistant to the President; John A. Scall, special consultant to the President; Patrick J. Buchanan, special assistant to the President; Rose Mary Woods, personal secretary to the President; Alfred L. Jenkins, director for Asian Communist affairs in the State Department; John Holdridge, staff member of the National Security Council; and Winston Lord, special assistant to Mr. Kissinger.

Of these people, Mr. Ziegler said, Mr. Holdridge speaks Mandarin Chinese. The press secretary said there will be three interpreters on the "trip"—of them, he believed, from the State Department.

In addition, Mr. Ziegler said, there will be an "unofficial" party of "approximately 21." He said this group would include Gerald L. Warren, deputy press secretary; Dr. Thomas Tracy, the President's physician; Ronald Walker, a staff assistant to the President who is leading the group now in China; Timothy Elbourne, a press aide, and staff and secretarial personnel from the National Security Council and Mr. Chapin's staff.

In addition to the "official" and "unofficial" parties, Mr. Ziegler said, there will also be about 10 members of his own staff, "a small group" of security personnel, communications technicians and military support people.

He said that there will also be 87 members of the press, 13 satellite ground-station technicians and 58 other communications and technical personnel.

During Rest and Study Under Florida Sun

Nixon's China Researches Aren't Divulged

By Robert M. Smith

KEY BISCAYNE, Fla., Feb. 13 (NYT)—If President Nixon has managed to resist the lure of sun, sea and friend Bebe Rebozo's houseboat, he may have prepared himself well to answer many questions the Chinese could throw at him during his visit beginning a week from tomorrow.

The President's trip last weekend and this weekend to Key Biscayne suggest the quandary of a high-school boy faced with a final exam in Latin next weekend and fine spring weather this week. Mr. Nixon, fleeing the chill gray of Washington, came to Florida with what one State Department official called "a hell of a lot of stuff" to study in preparation for his China trip.

The contents of the China briefing book are so secret that questions about it made a member of the National Security Council staff virtually flee.

The administration presumably does not want the Chinese to know what ideas are in the President's mind about China. They won't even say what published books he has read. In addition, they do not want to let out the smallest hint of possible topics for discussion.

"An agenda?" echoed the council staff member. "I'm off the record now. I'm not going to say there is an agenda. No, I can't tell you whether there is an agenda or not."

Source of Data

But certain things have become clear about the President's intellectual preparation for the China trip. First, the 500 pages or more that he brought here last weekend were pulled up from the depths of the State Department—the China Desk, the legal, advice's office, the intelligence bureau, the



JOYCE KILMER IN PLASTIC—Workman planting special foliage on one-and-a-half-mile median stretch of Jefferson Boulevard in Los Angeles. Trees are made of plastic to keep down the maintenance costs that accompany real trees, according to a road official. Besides, there is not enough earth to support real trees.

Health HQs In U.S. Help Nonsmokers

NEW YORK, Feb. 13 (AP)—

Vice-President Spiro Agnew says presidential candidates who would ease in to every demand of North Vietnamese if elected are undermining the cause of peace.

In an interview on the National Broadcasting Company's "Today" TV show, Mr. Agnew singled out the Democratic front-runner, Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, D.-Maine.

He said that in criticizing President Nixon's peace proposal Sen. Muskie "undermines the chance that the North Vietnamese are going to accept this."

Mr. Agnew denied reports that he disapproves of Mr. Nixon's decision to visit Peking but said he was opposed to what he called an euphemism that swept the country when the trip was announced.

"The Chinese are not our friends," he said. "We are going to go see them at their house and see if we can make them less hostile, that is all."

Kissinger vs. Protesters

MANCHESTER, N.H., Feb. 13 (UPI)—Police yesterday broke up a demonstration by some 200 protesters outside the Nixon-for-President headquarters.

Inside, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George Romney, who lost the 1968 New Hampshire primary to President Nixon, opened the headquarters. He charged that Democratic presidential candidates are "brainwashing" the American people into a "certain conclusion of the war." Mr. Romney told about 40 GOP workers that Sen. Muskie, and other Democratic candidates supported "the policies that got us into Vietnam."

They were party to brainwashing the American people about the way we got involved in Vietnam," he said. "We must not let them brainwash us now about the way we get out of Vietnam. That could prove to be an even more costly mistake."

Mr. Romney's statement in 1967

that he had been "brainwashed" by U.S. authorities on Vietnam caused a furor and was instrumental in weakening his candidacy to the point that he withdrew from the race on Feb. 13.

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During Rest and Study Under Florida Sun

Nixon will spend in each has been left flexible.

Biographical material on the Chinese leaders (Asked if all the leaders were included, an official said: "You tell us who they are.")

• Papers on the Chinese economic and political situation.

According to one official who helped prepare the briefing book,

"Almost everything imaginable is covered."

Asked if that wasn't a

half-order for 500 pages or so of material, he said: "No, because the Chinese have been pretty open about what they want to discuss. It is also clear what subjects they are going to avoid because they are embarrassing."

"Almost everything they could

seriously raise is treated in one

form or another," he added.

"What has been left out is a lot

of minor or technical stuff—like

detailed aspects of trade or the

communications—the Chinese

might want to set up as a follow-

This weekend's work is de-

scribed as mainly "domestic"—

yesterday afternoon the President

flew by helicopter to Grand Cay

in the Bahamas with Treasury

Secretary John B. Connally—but

he took his China work along.

The President is scheduled to

leave Andrews Air Force Base in

a Washington suburb at 10 a.m.

Thursday and arrive in Peking

next Sunday at 10:30 p.m. Wash-

ington time, or 0330 Monday

Peking time and 0630 Monday

GMT.

Marlboro Files to Nixon

PARIS, Feb. 13 (AP)—André

Marlboro flew to Washington to

day to give President Nixon his

impressions on Mao Tse-tung.

The 70-year-old writer and

former minister of culture under

De Gaulle said he was "surprised

and honored" by Mr. Nixon's

invitation.

Abandoned Boy Seeks His Mother After 12 Years, Robs Her, Is Jailed

MOSCOW, Feb. 13 (AP)—A sailor, running off to the Par East with an attractive widow, said: "Either the boy goes or I do."

So Vera Petrova Shukina abandoned her 5-year-old son in the Omsk railroad station. That was 12 years ago.

Her son, Vladimir, was in a state orphanage until he ran away in search of his mother last year.

Vladimir turned up in Samarkand and was caught stealing a woman's purse in the market.

The victim told the police that the thief should go to jail, and added: "So should his parents."

She was taken to the jail to give a statement, and was told the name of the thief.

"My God," she exclaimed, "it's my son."

Pravda Vostochna, printed in Tashkent, reported this story in its Feb. 11 edition, which reached Moscow today. The paper said the youth was convicted of theft.

UN Agency Fears a Shortage Of Water in This Generation

By William Tuchy

ROMA, Feb. 13.—The supply of fresh water in the world, without drastic conservation measures, is likely to run short within the lifetime of children living today.

This dire warning is the subject of a massive study prepared by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, which will be presented to the UN Conference on the Environment in Stockholm this June.

Also contributing to the 62-page paper are the World Health Organization and the World Meteorological Organization.

The study points out that at present man controls only about 6.6 percent of the total precipitation on the earth's surface.

The rest is lost principally through evaporation and runoff into the salt seas and oceans.

Among these are tighter control of water quality and quantity, early warning systems to spot environmental hazards in water use, improved planning of water supply and use, the definition of water problem zones and promotion of research on water development and the environment.

© Los Angeles Times

Explaining Request for New Regime

Athens Claims Cyprus Is in Peril

From Wire Dispatches

ATHENS, Feb. 13.—The government here asserted yesterday that its demands for a new regime in Cyprus were justified because Greece has special responsibility for the maintenance of security in Cyprus.

A spokesman said that Athens

had aims of "preserving national unity and averting bloodshed" when it suggested that Cyprus' president, Archbishop Makarios, form a national unity government.

"We may not be in a position to achieve what is desirable, but we should not contribute through disunity to what is undesirable," he said at a memorial service for a Greek Cypriot killed during the abortive crusade for union with Greece.

Observers interpreted his plea

as being a warning against partition of this island between Greek and Turkish communities.

The English-language daily Cyprus Mail said today accused Athens of seeking "the right to dictate the government which the president of the republic should have."

Greece Says U.S. Criticism

May Harm Home-Port Talks

ATHENS, Feb. 13 (NYT)—

Greece's military-backed government has warned the U.S. State Department that its critical remarks about Greek internal affairs might affect current negotiations.

Christian Xanthopoulos-Palassis, the Greek deputy foreign minister, said at his weekly briefing yesterday that the U.S. request for home-port facilities for units of the Sixth Fleet has been accepted in principle.

He added: "Preliminary exploratory contacts have already begun between the competent military authorities."

He expressed dismay, however, over a statement by a State Department spokesman voicing disappointment about the Greek government's internal policies. "Such statements are certainly not conducive to creating a suitable climate for the negotiations," Mr. Xanthopoulos-Palassis said.

He was referring to an assertion last week by the State Department spokesman, Charles Bray, that the agreement on port facilities with Greece "does not affect United States views on the Greek government and does not change our disappointment at the slow pace at which democracy is returning to that country."

Home Port Defined

Asked to define the meaning of a home port, Mr. Xanthopoulos-Palassis said this would include harbor facilities "of a permanent nature" where ships would put in when off duty. The families of crewmen and officers

would reside near the harbor.

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Nixon Hails Lincoln as Inspiration

KEY BISCAYNE, Fla., Feb. 13 (Reuters)—President Nixon said yesterday the 153rd anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth—that Americans needed more than ever Lincoln's ability to inspire and give confidence to better serve their country and mankind.

Maj. Gen. Khalid Hassan Abbas, considered the number two man in the Sudanese government, resigned all his posts, President Gaafar Numeiri announced in a statement broadcast early today.

Gen. Khalid was deputy president, defense minister and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. President Numeiri said he has assumed all these jobs himself. He added that Gen. Khalid had twice before asked to be relieved of his responsibilities.

These deteriorating effects are inter-related and increasing emphasis on water resources development is leading to chain reactions of harmful effects on the environment," says the study. "yet the expansion in world population demands an increase in agricultural production with the resulting intensification of resources use."

Under Secretary Panayotakos said at a news conference in Nicosia that the Cyprus government needed renewal. "It does not represent all the nationalists and it has no independent views," he said.

During a brief stopover in Athens, David H. Popper, U.S. ambassador to Cyprus, conferred today with his colleague, Henry J. Tasse, ambassador to Greece, on American Embassy tour's visit.

Mr. Popper flew to Athens after an African vacation.

A spokesman said that Athens had aims of "preserving national unity and averting bloodshed" when it suggested that Cyprus' president, Archbishop Makarios, form a national unity government.

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Paris Reported Ousting 3 Soviet Spying Suspects

PARIS, Feb. 13 (UPI)—Three suspected Soviet spies, including the number three man in the Soviet embassy, have left Paris at the request of the French government, the newspaper France-Soir reported yesterday.

Citing information gathered from "observers in international circles," France-Soir said Alexei Krokhine, a minister-counselor of the Soviet embassy listed as second assistant to ambassador Valerian Zorin, left Paris for Moscow recently with two other unnamed officials.

All three were suspected agents of the KGB, the Soviet secret police, on information gathered from the same source that led Britain to expel 105 Soviet diplomats last October, the newspaper said.

"In diplomatic language, their presence was not wished, in clearer words, they were suspected of espionage," France-Soir said.

During a brief stopover in Athens, David H. Popper, U.S.

Page 4—Monday, February 14, 1972 *

The World Does Move

Whether or not Galileo muttered that the world does move at the very moment he was denying that heretical proposition is rather beside the point. Time after time the fact has been shoved into the teeth of embittered conservatives and despairing progressives alike. And at a time when men too often seem to be sinking into subhuman savagery from the most idealistic of motives, it is pleasant to note that two powerful governments, much given to snarling at one another, can promote the collaboration of their doctors and scientists in a genuinely humane project.

The agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union to pool their knowledge and work together in a Soviet-American Committee for Health Cooperation took a year to bring to fruition. That considering the fact that the exchange of scientific information has been under way between the two powers for more than 15 years, gives a clue to the obstacles that had to be overcome. A common-sense program had political and bureaucratic hurdles to surmount; the infusion of ideology into science cannot be disregarded, even in such apparently clear-cut problems as those of human health.

One has only to dip into the broad study of human origins sponsored by the United Nations to see how differently anthropology can be viewed by Marxist and non-Marxist experts in that field. Mao's thought has been injected into Chinese medicine, and Lysenkoism still has something of a hold

on the study of genetics in the Soviet Union. Public health, viewed from the standpoint of the American Medical Association, takes on a quite different coloration than when seen through the eyes of a Soviet doctor (or, for that matter, through the eyes of many American doctors).

Differences like these can be troublesome, even in the study of cancer or heart disease, to say nothing of environmental pollution, in which the social system plays such an important role. Yet there are certainly core facts in every field of human knowledge which can be studied, and some truths agreed upon, by representatives of all politico-economic faiths. And out of such study and agreement can come forward steps for all humanity.

Progress has been made in Soviet-American cooperation in space programs, Antarctic studies, and in the world that is covered by the sea. The health cooperation plan can bring this progress closer to the vital and urgent interests of the peoples of all the earth. From the mutual respect such cooperation engenders, from the realization that men, women and children die in much the same anguish under every flag, it is possible that reasonable concussions about other aspects of life, that also know no national or ideological boundaries, may flow. At any rate, the creation of the Soviet-American Committee for Health Cooperation is a real achievement. May it live up to every expectation!

Probing U.S. Defense Spending

President Nixon's soaring defense budget appears to be shaping up as a major issue in the Congress. The need for a \$6.3 billion increase in budget authority in the fiscal year beginning July 1 is being questioned—with good reason—by one of the Pentagon's best friends on Capitol Hill, Sen. Stennis, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and by Majority Leader Mike Mansfield. A close, hard look needs to be taken at the plethora of new weapons systems projected by the armed services and at what Mr. Stennis describes as the "rocketing costs" of military manpower.

Personnel costs will absorb more than half of the \$33.4-billion defense budget and are expected to rise in the next few years to well over 60 percent, compared with 27 percent in the Soviet Union. These figures turn on its head the old Pentagon notion that the United States can better afford an arms race than the U.S.S.R. Military pay has been listed repeatedly in the effort to fulfill Mr. Nixon's 1968 campaign pledge to recruit all-volunteer armed forces. With the increase projected for next January, the base pay of a recruit will be four times what it was in 1964.

The development and procurement funds requested for 103 major weapons systems require searching examination. The seven-fold increase to \$942 million in funds to be spent on "development" of new long-range-missile submarines, which will cost about \$1 billion each—as much as giant nuclear-attack carriers—is virtually a commitment to procurement of a \$20 to \$30-billion underwater fleet, although no such decision has yet been made.

More than \$12 billion is to be spent on development of a new strategic bomber and a new antiaircraft warning system, plus procurement of long-lead items for a fourth nuclear carrier, although none of these

weapons systems ostensibly has yet been approved for construction. Congress is no longer given a look ahead at the wedge-shaped shadows such starts on weapons programs cast into the financial future. Weapons programs need to be pruned back to realistic dimensions before huge investments are made in them, but only the Congress is likely to do such pruning now.

With the likelihood of a first-stage agreement in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), a close look needs to be taken at the projected expenditure of another \$1.5 billion on the Safeguard antiballistic missile (ABM) system. Also, will it really be necessary to spend another \$1.6 billion on MIRV multiple warhead missiles, when the heavy, nationwide Soviet ABM system they were designed to penetrate is not being built? Even larger sums are allocated to tactical aircraft of questionable utility, a huge naval shipbuilding program and other weapons little related to any war the United States is likely to fight.

The absence of any effective "net assessment" measuring American military requirements against the actual forces and capabilities of the potential enemy undermines the value of much Pentagon planning. The effect of all this plus a deterioration in unified civilian management of the competing armed services, is that the Pentagon spends more now than in 1964 on its general purpose forces and gets 20 to 25 percent less combat capability for its money.

Why is the White House itself reportedly has been unable to get the Defense Department to explain. Yet the President repeatedly yields to military pleas for more funds. As pointed questions are being asked now by senators who once voted what the Peutagon requested, a tightening of the purse strings by Congress appears to be the likely alternative.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

International Opinion

"So Who Cares About Biharis?"

... So who cares much about the Biharis? There are millions as direly placed as the minority in Bangladesh. There are millions more innocent. There are millions without a vocal lobby back in Islamabad. Why (Sheikh Mujib's) advisers may well demand) treat the Biharis as a special case? Why care more about them? It is a hard question to pose, a harder one to answer; and the only response must stem from emotion. Bangladesh's new start, new image, and future credibility depend on the degree of humanity displayed now, in extremis.

—From the *Guardian* (London).

Recognition of Bangladesh

Japan must maintain an independent stand in developing its foreign policy in the Indian subcontinent... It should speed up

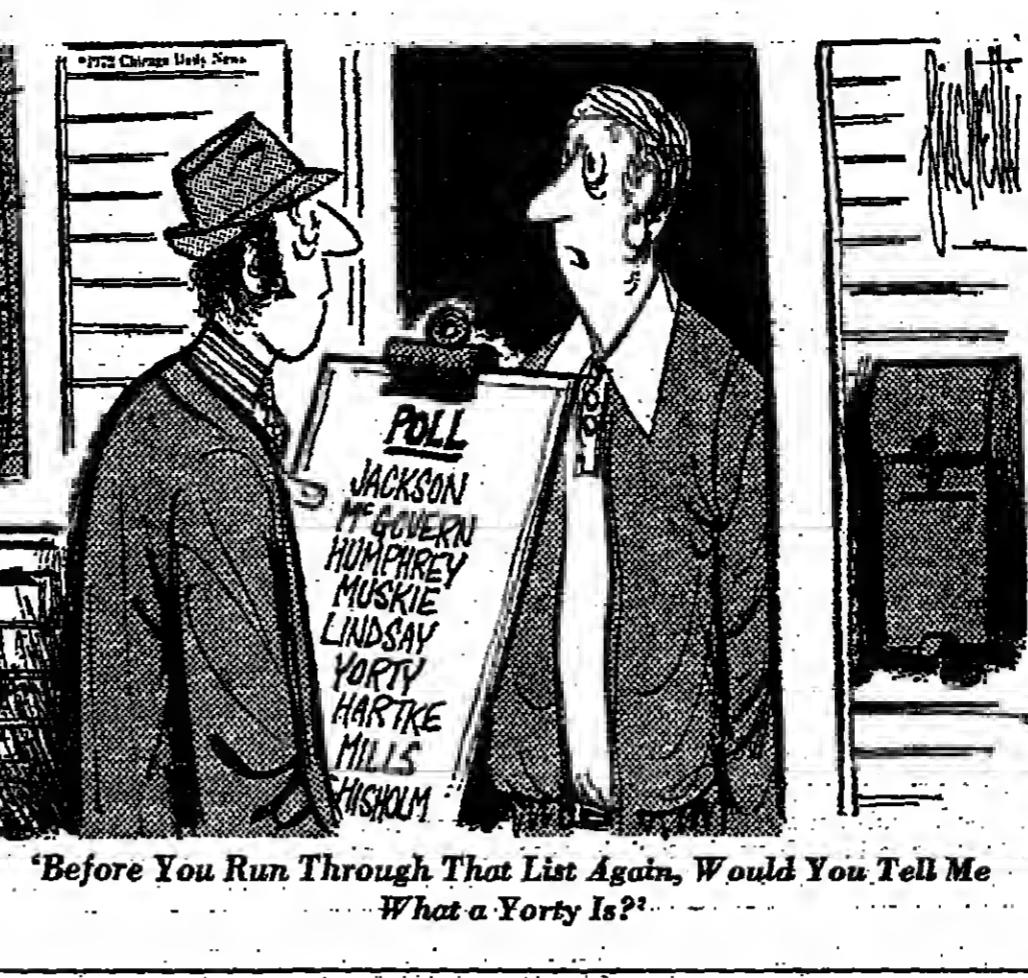
In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

Fifty Years Ago

February 14, 1922

LONDON.—Following the kidnapping of 50 prominent Unionists in last Wednesday's raids into Ulster territory, arrangements have been made by the Ulster Government to guard the frontier with 10,000 armed police while 17 British battalions will be stationed just inside the border. There are now 7 British battalions in Ulster. The evacuation of British troops from the Irish Free State has been suspended and some of the regiments will now be sent to Ulster.



A Look at Muskie's Peace Proposal

By Kenneth Crawford

WASHINGTON—No presidential candidate can ever again claim that Saigon is more divided on the Vietnam war issue than Sen. Edmund Muskie, the now indicated Democratic nominee. Sen. George McGovern, Mayor John Lindsay and the others can continue to note that Muskie traffled them into the peace camp. But they can no longer say that he is lacking in the zeal demanded of the campers.

Indeed, Muskie's latest peace proposal surprises anything anybody else has suggested to force the belligerents, Saigon and Hanoi, to lie down together like the lion and the lamb on the lamb when the time made the lion.

What Muskie proposes is that the military and the political aspects of a peace agreement be dealt with separately. He would make a simple, straightforward deal with the enemy—a commitment to withdraw all American troops from Indo-China in exchange for all prisoners of war. So much for the military part of the bargain.

He would then leave it to Saigon and Hanoi to make their own political bargain. Leave it to them? Not quite. He would threaten Saigon with loss of American logistical support after U.S. troops are withdrawn unless it came to terms with Hanoi. Others may have thought of this possibility but Muskie is the first to incorporate this coercive threat into his own peace plan.

Now that Le Duc Tho, the chief North Vietnamese negotiator, has spelled out Hanoi's peace terms in his public answer to President Nixon's disclosure of the U.S. terms proposed on his behalf by Henry Kissinger in Paris, it is not hard to see what deal Hanoi would find acceptable. President Thieu of South Vietnam would have to resign. Saigon would have to forgo further American aid, both economic and military.

Political Atmosphere

Asked by Newsweek columnist Stewart Alsop whether this wouldn't force Saigon to accept a Communist-front government, Muskie replied that it wouldn't foreclose the South Vietnamese from fighting on "with their own resources." What resources? They would soon be helpless to defend their territory from the North Vietnamese, who, presumably, would still be lavishly supplied by Moscow and Peking.

In the political atmosphere of 1968 or earlier, Muskie's suggestion that the South Vietnamese negotiate with the Communists might have been perceived as a lead pony.

One of the leaders of a country that has never permitted any kind of election was outraged by the spectacle of an uncontested election! Too much is enough. The Communists know that they couldn't win an election now and couldn't have for some years past. Their government is called a corrupt dictatorship, and by Western standards it doubtless is. But it is also the most ef-

fective government South Vietnam has had in years. That is why the Hanoi government, also a dictatorship but so closed that its corruption is hidden, insists that Thieu be removed.

The path by which Muskie reached this position on the Nixon peace plan is curiously winding. First he welcomed the Nixon peace initiative as a promising step forward. Then, in an interview, he found fault with the Nixon plan on the ground that it was too complicated and that it imposed a new condition unacceptable to the North Vietnamese—an Indo-China-wide cease-fire. He apparently neglected to notice that it was complicated because the North Vietnamese, not the Americans, insisted upon wrapping the military and political terms in one big package.

From his cease-fire objection, Muskie took the long leap to his simple swap-trap withdrawal for prisoners of war. But here he had company. Other Democratic candidates had proposed the same thing. Now, however, he had sweetened the deal with a threat to scuttle Saigon's long-shot wedding with North Vietnam, a suggestion so odious to Mr. Nixon that he forbade Kissinger even to discuss it in Paris.

So the issue is drawn and it will probably be with us until after the presidential election. Mr. Nixon will represent himself as willing to go the last mile for peace. Muskie, unless he backs off, will represent himself as willing to go the last mile and a half and to shove Saigon off the cliff when the distance is covered.

Moreover, in the light of Le Duc Tho's latest outburst, it must be doubted that the North Vietnamese ever intended to accept any deal that failed to guarantee them full control of all Indo-China. His statement that a compromise might have been possible before President Thieu's uncompromising reelection has the ring of a lead pony.

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fective government South Vietnam has had in years. That is why the Hanoi government, also a dictatorship but so closed that its corruption is hidden, insists that Thieu be removed.

Indeed, the Pakistani's disastrous vision in the wake of the recent war with India is such that he pronounces a mass copse on his own past and regards the youthful folly that led him 22 years ago to work for Nixon's defeat as a representative from California at the hands of Helen Gahagan Douglas. At that time Bhutto was a brilliant young student at the state university.

His gloomy view of today's world—a view that is darkly tinged with prejudices—sees India, urged on by the Soviet Union, globally threatening new aggressions while Moscow, in the end, plans to pick up pieces all along the U.S.S.R.'s southern border.

Although he expresses his ideas in emotional tones, Bhutto's outlook is one of coldly cynical realpolitik. For him, Mrs. Gandhi's India is an unwilling Kremlin stooge and, once it has completed the job of wrecking all semblance of stability on the most populous continent, it will in turn be gobbed up itself.

When that moment comes, says Bhutto with lugubrious relish, neither India's "ancient wisdom" nor the "royal trick" will enable Mrs. Gandhi to "lose the Soviet Union." And when that bell tolls, as it has already tolled for East Pakistan, Bhutto foresees the loss of India's provinces of West Bengal and Assam, which, together with Bangladesh, will come under "red" influence. The only question not yet answered in the Pakistani's mind is whether that influence will be Chinese or Russian.

To make matters even worse he hints darkly that Moscow is up to monkey business with agents and propaganda stirring trouble inside West Pakistan, all

Nixon and Chou En-Lai: A Great Opportunity

By James Reston

WASHINGTON—President Nixon has wisely warned the American people not to expect too much from his mission to China, but this is a critical moment in the history of Asia, and without expecting too much, it could be a mistake to attempt too little.

For sometimes, limited and specific conflicts such as Vietnam, Taiwan and Korea, which seem hopelessly tangled by themselves, can still be susceptible to compromise and accommodation when linked to some larger historical perspective and purpose.

Berlin seemed to be the flash point of Europe and was lost for years in endless narrow security arguments among men who were living under the dominion of fear. It was only when the question was changed and Chancellor Willy Brandt asked: What about the future? What about the security, not merely of Berlin or Germany, but the whole of Europe? that the whole stalemate over the wall and across the autobahn yielded to common sense.

Maybe it is too soon to expect this sort of thing in Asia, but should not the larger question of the future well-being and security of the poor and hungry majority of the human race in that part of the world be seriously discussed by the leaders of the most populous and the most powerful of the nation states?

Most questions about Asia and President Nixon's visit to Peking have concentrated recently on arranging Sino-American trade and cultural exchanges, on the internal political effects of the visit on Nixon and the Sato government in Japan, on how all these trans-oceanic satellite TV shows of Nixon at the Forbidden City, the Great Wall of China, etc., will look to the voter in Dubuque, Ed Muskie in Maine, Brezhnev and Kozyn in Moscow, General Thieu in Saigon, Mrs. Gandhi in India and Mr. Bhutto in Pakistan. And while all these things are important in the world of realpolitik, surely they are secondary questions.

All the nations on the Pacific and the rim of its adjoining seas have certain common concerns. They want peace and enough food to hold life together and a little hope. They want some order in the outside world so that they can get on with their problems and responsibilities at home.

The war in Vietnam, the confrontation of a million Soviet soldiers on China's northern border, or the threat of Japan's economic expansion, but above all a new order in the Pacific and a mutual security and nonaggression pact among the United States, China, the Soviet Union and Japan.

North Vietnam's senior negotiator in the Vietnam peace talks, Le Duc Tho, is going to arrive in Peking to see Chou the day before Nixon gets there, probably to brief him on the narrow questions of the Paris stalemate and Hanot plans for a military offensive in South Vietnam during Nixon's Peking visit.

It will be interesting to discover Chou's reaction to this. He can see it in contemporary short-range terms and encourage Le Duc Tho to go, to go with that military offensive, or he can take the Nixon mission seriously and try to call off the military battle and get down to the really important question of ending the killing and getting on to the big question of the future order of the Pacific.

There is no problem about this with Nixon. Whatever one says or suspects about his political ambitions, it is only fair to say that he would prefer to get down to the great historic questions of the future, if he could, and this is probably true as well of Chou.

Is it then unreasonable to think that Richard Nixon and Chou En-lai should try to lift their talk out of the contemporary pit of politics into the larger historical issues and common interests of the future?

After all, while this is the first meeting between the leaders of the United States and China in over a generation, it is probably the best chance any American will have in the foreseeable future to deal with the historic questions of the future, if he and Nixon can only agree to reach out beyond the immediate conflicts over Vietnam, Taiwan and Japan to the possibilities of order in the Pacific from now to the end of the century.

Bhutto and the Odd Couple in Asia

By C. L. Sulzberger

RAWALPINDI—President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is looking for an odd couple, namely Mao Tse-tung and Richard Nixon, to keep Pakistan and, incidentally, all Asia from sliding down the drain.

A social reformer without ideological pedigree, Bhutto is philosophically about midstream between the Chinese and American chiefs of state. But he thinks they are the only people who can straighten out a mess unusual even for this unlikely continent.

Indeed, the Pakistani's disastrous vision in the wake of the recent war with India is such that he pronounces a mass copse on his own past and regrets the youthful folly that led him 22 years ago to work for Nixon's defeat as a representative from California at the hands of Helen Gahagan Douglas. At that time Bhutto was a brilliant young student at the state university.

His gloomy view of today's world—a view that is darkly tinged with prejudices—sees India, urged on by the Soviet Union, globally threatening new aggressions while Moscow, in the end, plans to pick up pieces all along the U.S.S.R.'s southern border.

Although he expresses his ideas in emotional tones, Bhutto's outlook is one of coldly cynical realpolitik. For him, Mrs. Gandhi's India is an unwilling Kremlin stooge and, once it has completed the job of wrecking all semblance of stability on the most populous continent, it will in turn be gobbed up itself.

Certainly there is a commonality of Chinese and Pakistani interest. They want to defeat their mutual adversary, India, and share with the United States the desire to keep Russia from running away with the Axis power contest. Bhutto, seeing this and having failed to get a signed alliance in importance.

He knows that he requires the help of current history's odd couple, Mao and Nixon. From their deliberations he expects "fruitful and productive" results, for he is obviously aware that both Peking and Washington can see the danger for their own countries if all the remnants of an Asiatic power balance are allowed to disintegrate.

Tea and Sympathy

For these reasons, he constitutes himself a kind of advance party for the Nixon journey to China—which was arranged through Pakistan—and flew there last week to see his old friend, Chou En-lai, and the man he most reveres: Mao Tse-tung, in order to ask for help. He almost certainly wanted a written defense pact but what he got was tea and sympathy, the advice that common interests transcend all.

He knows that he requires the help of current history's odd couple, Mao and Nixon. From their deliberations he expects "fruitful and productive" results, for he is obviously aware that both Peking and Washington can see the danger for their own countries if all the remnants of an Asiatic power balance are allowed to disintegrate.

Herald Tribune

Published with The New York Times and The Washington Post

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Published and printed by International Herald Tribune, 21 Rue de l'Europe, Paris, Tel. 223-32-40. ISSN 0203-1230. Copyright © 1972 International Herald Tribune. All rights reserved.

Le Directeur de la publication: Walter N. Shaver

Two New Books

President Kennedy Assailed For Anti-Red Foreign Policy

By Alden Whitman

NEW YORK, Feb. 13 (NYT).—The foreign policy of President John F. Kennedy, much praised in its time as liberal and idealistic, is vigorously attacked in two recent books as a reactionary and counter-revolutionary program that pushed the United States deeper into Vietnam and worsened tensions with the Soviet Union.

The books are "Cold War and Counter-Revolution: The Foreign Policy of John F. Kennedy," by Richard J. Walton, a former principal correspondent for the Voice of America at the United Nations, and "The Kennedy Doctrine," by Louis Fize Simons, a former foreign-affairs con-

sultant to the State and Defense Departments.

The books are part of a recent trend among historians and scholars, often called revisionists, to reassess the cold war and question the merits as well as the effectiveness of American foreign policy since 1945, the year of Harry S. Truman's accession to the presidency.

One such just published re-evaluation—The Truman Doctrine and the Origins of McCarthyism" by Richard Freedland, of the University of Massachusetts—contends that Truman policymakers inflated the image of Soviet intrusiveness in order to establish an American-dominated political and commercial system in Western Europe.

World Domination

The critics of President Kennedy also insist that he magnified the Soviet danger and sought to operate on the assumption that "the enemy [of the United States] is the Communist system itself—implacable, insatiable, unceasing in its drive for world domination."

Arguing that Mr. Kennedy was a hard-line anti-Communist and citing his campaign and presidential speeches as proof, Mr. Walton asserts that the President began his term in 1961 with "a swift and massive military buildup" despite [Soviet Premier Nikita S.] Khrushchev's gestures of goodwill, despite [Dwight D.] Eisenhower's warning and despite the administration's increasing realization that the Soviet Union was much weaker than the United States.

It is to his lasting credit that he urged the American people to re-examine its attitudes toward the cold war, Mr. Walton says, "but he himself did not understand it and confused the entirely normal competition between the United States and the Soviet Union with the inevitable revolutionary struggle in Asia and Latin America."

"Thus, perhaps unknowingly, John Kennedy, with his Green Berets and his counterinsurgency programs and his swift and massive buildup, became the great counter-revolutionary of the post-war world."

A similar point is made by Miss Fize Simons, although her book concentrates on the military and arms aspects of Mr. Kennedy's policy. She asserts that the President, early in his tenure, accepted counterinsurgency as a strategy to balk national aspirations in Southeast Asia. She writes:

"President Kennedy and others who supported the counterinsurgency policy naively believed that with enough goodwill, with the right kind of assistance, with the right kind of training, we could convert the South Vietnamese government into a strong, freedom-loving democracy that could prevail over its enemies."

"Our policymakers apparently never considered what might be the limits of American power to affect the course of events in a society alien to our own, of vastly different values and traditions."

"Throughout the history of the Kennedy administration's deepening involvement, there was a serious gap between what American policymakers thought was happening and what was really happening."

"Thus, as the situation went from bad to worse, confusion and despair in Washington increased. Yet no one ever said—or if he did it is not recorded—'Maybe it just won't work.'

3 Red Skippers Win Alaska Bail

ANCHORAGE, Alaska, Feb. 13 (Reuters).—A federal judge here has granted bail ranging from \$40,000 to \$80,000 for three Russian ship captains who face charges of fishing violations.

One of their ships, the Lamut,

was stopped in the Bering Sea on Jan. 17 and then broke away.

It halted only after the Coast Guard threatened to open fire.

Judge James V. Warden held

the Soviet ambassador in Washington to guarantee the three men's appearance here by March 14 for their trial two days later.

Peking UN Diplomat Reported Dead in N.Y.

NEW YORK, Feb. 13 (Reuters).—The cause of death of a Chinese United Nations diplomat found dead here last Monday may not be known for a month, a pathologist with the city medical examiners' office said. The death was not reported, until Friday.

Mr. John Devlin said chemical tests on the body of Wang Tsang, 26, a junior member of the mainland delegation, could take from one week to a month to yield the cause of death.

"We are looking for anything at all," Dr. Devlin said. He added that foul play was not suspected. Mr. Wang was found in his room at the Roosevelt Hotel and was pronounced dead on arrival at Lenox Hill Hospital.

Mr. Diana Cooper Debachay, 22, had a history of heart trouble and was a patient at the hospital, base for her husband's heart surgery team. She suffered an initial attack in Bogota, Colombia, while on a trip to visit a son in Lima, Peru. She suffered a second attack three weeks ago in Acapulco, Mexico, while on a trip with her husband.

Heart Attack Fatal To Specialist's Wife

HOUSTON, Feb. 13 (UPI).—The wife of Dr. Michael E. Debackay, pioneer heart transplant surgeon, died Friday of a heart attack at Methodist Hospital.

Mr. Debackay, a legislator in the National Assembly with a Paris constituency, was a member of the U.D.R. when a scandal broke out over the activities of the Garantie Functie—a firm which promised unusually high returns on private funds for building investment.

Mr. Debackay quit the party under pressure shortly after he was indicted.

The French deputy's conviction states he and Mr. Freinkel deliberately used Mr. Rives-Henrys name and title in advertising for the Garantie Functie.

The council which was established in 1959, represents most major Protestant and Orthodox denominations in the country. It has 33 member-denominations with a total of 42 million members.

The addition of the Catholic Church, with 48 million members, would mean the creation for the first time of a single organization encompassing all three branches of American Christianity and a majority of American Christians.

The recommendation was made in a 47-page report by the Joint Study Committee on possible Roman Catholic membership in the National Council of Churches, a committee set up on official basis two years ago.

Its recommendations will go to the American bishops of the Catholic Church, with whom any decision to seek membership ultimately rests.

Bhutto Says U.S. Prevented Indian War in West Pakistan

By C. L. Subzberger

RAWALPINDI (NYT).—Pakistan would like to open "a genuine dialogue" with the United States with a view to reviving and strengthening the defense agreement existing between the two countries until it was more or less discontinued by Washington in 1967. To accomplish this aim there would have to be a meeting of minds and also some redressing.

This infernal request for what seems tantamount to a new military pact was made during a two-hour interview recently with President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The interview took place in English, a language the president speaks eloquently, holding university degrees from both England and the United States. It was held in his residence here, near the new capital of Islamabad.

He spoke gloomily of India and said that Indian troop movements in the neighborhood of Kashmir were causing much concern. He implied a belief that India was behaving like a virtual satellite of Moscow and warned that Soviet power was fixed to gain on the subcontinent at India's expense. He said:

"India will lose from its aggression, in the long run. It has sown the seeds and will reap a bitter harvest in India itself. By sponsoring Bangladesh you will see that India will lose West Bengal and Assam."

And it is preposterous to think that, in an association with a great power like Russia, the greater power interests will not prevail.

It is absurd of India to think that with its ancient wisdom and the rope trick it can lasso the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union will demand its full pound of flesh.

He said he had discovered sympathy for his idea of a "profound dialogue" with China, during his Peking visit.

But the Chinese were against the idea of formal talks, he said, preferring to rely on the bond of common interests with other nations in formulating their foreign policy.

He seemed confident that Mr. Nixon's visit to Peking (Mr. Bhutto has just returned from there) would be "fruitful and productive" although its results would not appear to be "sensational."

Another of the 19 prelates consecrated today was the new archbishop of Dublin, the Most Rev. Dermot Ryan, 47, William Cardinal Conway, Roman Catholic primate of all Ireland, and many other Irishmen were in St. Peter's for the rite.

Among the others consecrated were two Americans, the Most Rev. Edward L. Heslop, the Vatican's information chief, who became an archbishop, and the Most Rev. Edward T. O'Meara, new auxiliary bishop of St. Louis.

The other new bishops and archbishops were Italian, Asians, Latin Americans, a Polynesian from the island of Tonga, and a Romanian.

Liberal Dutch priests here

objected by "misuse" of the veto and hoped its vigor could be restored by giving the General Assembly mandatory, rather than recommendatory, powers.

He spoke gloomily of India and said that Indian troop movements in the neighborhood of Kashmir were causing much concern. He implied a belief that India was behaving like a virtual satellite of Moscow and warned that Soviet power was fixed to gain on the subcontinent at India's expense. He said:

"India will lose from its aggression, in the long run. It has sown the seeds and will reap a bitter harvest in India itself. By sponsoring Bangladesh you will see that India will lose West Bengal and Assam."

Yahya Khan, as a drunken, irresponsible man," and an "Ivan the Terrible."

He promised to hold a nationwide plebiscite on his reform program this year and a second plebiscite on the new constitution he wants the constituent assembly to draft. This document, he says, should end any possibility that another "adventure" could take power because, "after all, we have had four dictatorships in 24 years."

Bangladesh Wins Recognition of 23 European States

DACCA, Feb. 13 (AP).—Bangladesh has been officially recognized by 23 European countries, with Italy, France and Ireland the latest to announce their decision.

Meanwhile, a United Nations envoy is investigating the new state's treatment of its Bihari pro-Pakistan minority.

Bihari women in the Dacca ghetto of Mirpur threw themselves in front of the parked car of the UN secretary-general's special representative yesterday to dramatize complaints of mistreatment by the Bangladeshi government.

Mr. Bhutto talked at length about his desire to achieve profound social and political reform in Pakistan. He denounced his predecessor, Gen. Mohammed

More than 10,000 persons suspected of having collaborated with the Pakistani Army have been arrested throughout Bangladesh, an official spokesman said today, according to the Associated Press.

Shouting that they want to go to Pakistan, about 500 men and women gathered around the car, which had a UN flag on its fender, as an UN envoy Vittorio Winspear-Guicciardi tried to get in after a discussion with some of the Biharis beside the road.

"There is murder here. We have no food. Please send us to Pakistan," the crowd shouted.

An aide of the UN envoy, who arrived here Friday for a two-day visit, persuaded leaders to disperse the crowd after a minute, and the car moved away.

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Prelates lie prostrate before Pope Paul VI (near the altar) during consecration rite. Associated Press

Including Controversial Dutch Conservative

Pope Consecrates 19 Prelates at St. Peter's

ROME, Feb. 13 (NYT).—Pope Paul VI consecrated 19 archbishops and bishops from four continents today. Attention at the three-hour ceremony, rejecting a petition by the Dutch hierarchy to postpone it, was given to the new Dutch conservative.

mond disease could cause a "serious crisis" in relations between the Catholic Church in the Netherlands and the Vatican.

Rejected

Pope Paul had insisted on including Bishop Giesen in today's ceremony, rejecting a petition by the Dutch hierarchy to postpone it.

The Roman Catholic Primate of the Netherlands, Bernard Cardinal Alink, attended the consecration rite, following a personal request by Pope Paul, but few other Dutchmen did.

Contrary to tradition, there was no official delegation from the new bishop's diocese, Roermond.

The Dutch bishops had suggested that the new prelate should have his consecration at home to enable him to become better acquainted with the country's episcopacy and the people of his diocese.

Impicit was an appraisal of Bishop Giesen as an outsider who has kept apart from the mainstream of Dutch Catholicism.

Liberal Dutch priests here

said that by choosing Bishop Giesen, Pope Paul had clearly intended to strengthen Vatican control of the restive church in the Netherlands.

Another of the 19 prelates consecrated today was the new archbishop of Dublin, the Most Rev. Dermot Ryan, 47, William Cardinal Conway, Roman Catholic primate of all Ireland, and many other Irishmen were in St. Peter's for the rite.

Among the others consecrated were two Americans, the Most Rev. Edward L. Heslop, the Vatican's information chief, who became an archbishop, and the Most Rev. Edward T. O'Meara, new auxiliary bishop of St. Louis.

The other new bishops and archbishops were Italian, Asians, Latin Americans, a Polynesian from the island of Tonga, and a Romanian.

Jerusalem Dispute Stirred As Workers Drill in Old Wall

JERUSALEM, Feb. 13 (Reuters).—Premier Golda Meir today named a commission to discover how workers came to drill four holes into ancient stones 350 yards from the Wailing Wall, the most sacred shrine of Jews.

The archaeologists in charge of the work, B. Meir Bendov, said today that the stones in which holes were cut date from the eighth century, after the Arab conquest. They were drilled to carry steel beams to shore up the building.

In the course of the excavations, cracks appeared in the old house. Ministry officials wanted it pulled down, but Jerusalem's Mayor Teddy Kollek and other government leaders protested.

Religious leaders said sewage from the house was spilling out onto the "little wall," and renewed demands for its destruction.

When the building appeared in danger of collapse, the municipality decided to shore it up by inserting steel posts under it.

Demands for the house to be pulled down were revived at a stormy meeting of the Jerusalem municipality tonight.

Mr. Rives-Henry's lawyer said he would appeal.

The conviction of Mr. Rives



The black berets and leather jackets are still there, but the guns brandished in previous years are now rarely seen. Gone also, from the party's newspaper, are the gory, apocalyptic cartoons of pigs in police uniforms being riddled by small children with submachine guns.

The New Path of the Black Panthers

By Ross K. Baker

WASHINGTON—It may not be widely known, but the revolutionary Black Panther party is now planning to manufacture golf bags in an Oakland, Calif., factory. It conjures up a strange image, the Black Panthers and golf bags. Yet the largest section of the party to emerge from the split between adherents of Eldridge Cleaver, now in exile in Algiers, and followers of Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland has undertaken a series of enterprises that sound little like the Panthers of old.

The Oakland group, or the "Newkinites," as they are derisively characterized by the New York-based Cleaver group, have initiated programs aimed at creating conditions for the "survival" of America's black poor. The golf-bag plan is one of these. Proceeds from sales of the bags would be earmarked for the purchase of 300 to 400 sets of clothing to be given away each month to ghetto residents by "People's Free Clothing Program."

The clothing giveaway is but one aspect of the Panthers' "survival" effort. There is also the "People's Free Medical Clinic," designed to provide prenatal care, immunization shots, preventive medical care, referrals to specialists and free tests for sickle-cell anemia, a blood disease peculiar to blacks. There is the "David Hilliard People's Free Shoe Factory," named for the chief of staff of the Panthers, who is now at Folsom Prison in California, for assaulting an Oakland policeman. There are the "Angela Davis Free Food Program," the "People's Free Ambulance Service," the "Free Plumbing and Maintenance Program" and the "Free Busing Program," which provides transportation on prison visiting days for prisoners' relatives. And there is the "Free Breakfast Program," the oldest of the services, which is designed to "feed children a free, hot breakfast before school in the mornings" because children cannot function in a classroom situation if they are hungry.

The New Villain

The black berets and leather jackets are still there, but the guns brandished in previous years are now rarely seen. Gone also, from the pages of the party's newspaper, *Black Panthers*, are the gory, apocalyptic cartoons of pigs in police uniforms being riddled by small children with submachine guns. Emory Douglas, the resident political cartoonist who created the image of the brutal and vicious pig-police-man, is still in evidence, but his subject matter now runs in a very different direction.

The new cartoons reveal much about where the Panthers are now and where they seem to be heading. They depict hollow-eyed black children, highly sentimentalized vignettes of black mothers and their families, and the kinds of mushy genre pictures so beloved by 19th-century illustrators. But even more surprising are the elegies to religion and to the strength of the black church.

Mordant and devastating illustrations are restricted to caricatures of black businessmen who do not contribute to the Panther survival programs. These are the ones picked up in the general editorial line of the paper.

Replacing the rapacious pig in the Panther iconology is a black liquor store owner from Oakland named Bill Boyette. Mr. Boyette is president of Cal-State Beverage Stores and Tavern Owners Association (Cal-Pack) and owner of two liquor stores in Oakland. Cal-Pack, an organization of small, black-owned liquor stores, had a feud with Mayfair Markets, a large supermarket chain, over Mayfair's alleged refusal to buy liquor from wholesalers who employed black deliverymen. Mr. Boyette convinced the Panthers in July, 1971, to help him organize a boycott of

one of the Mayfair stores. The Panthers agreed, and for four days manned a picket line at the store until the Mayfair management capitulated.

Mr. Boyette's part of the bargain was to contribute groceries to the People's Survival Programs. But there was apparently no meeting of the minds between Mr. Boyette and the Panthers on the duration of the contributions. The Panthers assumed that there would be weekly donations for an extended period, while Mr. Boyette said that a one-time donation to the Free Breakfast Program satisfied his part of the arrangement with Huey Newton. When the Panthers demanded a continuing contribution of foodstuffs, Mr. Boyette balked and cried extortion. The Panthers then began a boycott of his two stores.

It may seem remarkable that the Panthers, who formerly expounded world socialist revolution, have now defined their role in such narrower terms—that in place of wide-ranging attacks on imperialism and society-wide racism they are now bending every effort to compel a single entrepreneur to contribute to a free food program.

What is even more remarkable, however, is that the Boyette boycott is merely the surface manifestation of a broader shift in the Panthers' program that finds the Panthers supporting groups and individuals who previously were either ignored or condemned, and downgrading appeals which seemed to be at the heart of the old Panther program.

Two New Allies

While the smaller Cleaver faction in the East continues to hamper away at the larger and more abstract issues of war, poverty and imperialism, the Oakland group has swung away completely from these concerns and has embraced two institutions that would not normally identify as Panther allies: black capitalism and the black church. The Panther position toward both of these institutions recently has been reevaluated. Mr. Newton argued in this reassessment that small black capitalists are the victims of the large corporate capitalist structure dominated by whites. He draws an analogy between the role of the black capitalist and that of the "national bourgeoisie" in wars of national liberation in Vietnam and China. In a recent issue of the *Black Panther*, Mr. Newton asserted:

"In war of decolonization the national bourgeoisie support the freedom struggle of the people because they recognize that it is in their own selfish interest. Then when the foreign exploiter has been kicked out, the national bourgeoisie takes his place and continues the exploitation. However, the national bourgeoisie is a weaker group... therefore the people are in a better position to wipe this national bourgeoisie away."

Moreover, Mr. Newton argues that ghetto blacks perceive the small black businessman in a favorable light—as part of a positive type of community control of resources which should be encouraged. Calling for support of black capitalism, Mr. Newton hopes to cultivate in the black business community certain affirmative qualities, which he feels "may be able to bring about a non-nomadic solution of his contradiction with the community, while at the same time heightening the oppressed community's contradiction with the large corporate capitalist empire."

This he suggests "will intensify the antagonistic contradiction between the oppressed community and the empire, and by heightening that contradiction there will subsequently be a violent transformation of the corporate empire."

How then, do the Panthers hope to encourage these favorable developments and how do they propose to differentiate between the

positive and negative elements among the black capitalists? It appears that the latter judgment is determined by whether a black businessman supports the survival programs. Bill Boyette did not support the programs at a level deemed appropriate by the Panthers. The Panther response to Mr. Boyette's recalcitrance was laid down by Bobby Seale, chairman of the Panthers:

"Black people drink 60 percent to 70 percent of all the liquor in this country. All those funds going down the drain. And we don't have any of those funds back in the community for the people. And that's what we're going to have; that's why we're going to have black community unity, and we're going to have that black businessman... We buy and they don't want to donate back to the black community. If they don't donate back to the black community, then shut them down."

There is also a carrot in the form of free advertising for black businessmen who support the community through donations to the survival programs. On Aug. 9, 1971, the Black Panther carried its first advertisement for a car dealer. It called upon the black community to buy cars from Al Ligon's Ford agency in Oakland. The same issue carried advertising for a shoe repair shop in Oakland and a building supply store in Berkeley. All of the ads carried the slogan, "Support the businesses that support our community."

Although the embrace of black capitalism may be a tactical, short-term position and the unfolding of the revolutionary process may widen away these temporary allies, the Panthers nonetheless have become one of the staunchest advocates of "progressive" black capitalism.

Those old enough to remember the Depression years may recall a similar campaign waged in the past, even the NAACP, if it had not been for Denmark Vesey, if it had not been for W.E.B. DuBois, if it had not been for Marcus Garvey, if it had not been for Martin Luther King, if it had not been for all the other revolutionary brothers. The Black Panther party would not even exist, because we all are together. We've come out of a history."

As the Panthers move to restore their image in the black community, they have sought to attenuate their links with certain elements of the white community. Mr. Newton and Mr. Seale have vowed that they will no longer allow themselves the patronage of their former "radical-chic" supporters. No longer will Panthers grace the drawing rooms and salons of Park Avenue in their search for funds and support. This may diminish their charismatic impact on those willing to bankroll someone else's revolution, but it may also lead to a reconciliation with the people for whom the Panther revolutionary doctrine was originally formulated.

The Church

The embrace of the black church has been undertaken perhaps even more readily than the alliance with black businessmen. Huey Newton has confessed that "once we stepped outside of the church... we stepped out of the things that the community was involved in."

The major portion of the Dec. 18, 1971, Black Panther was devoted to an interview with the Rev. Earl A. Nell of St. Augustine's Episcopal Church in Oakland. In the interview, titled "Hallelujah! The People's Revolutionary Gospel," Father Nell attempts to synthesize the religious-based civil rights activities of the early 1960s with the more radical black secular movement of the latter part of the decade. He also condemns police harassment of the Panthers and various "political trials" of Panther leaders.

The same issue contains an accolade to the Rev. Henry Nichols, pastor of a Methodist church in Philadelphia and a former member of that city's school board. In response to a police attack on black students demonstrating in front of the board of education building and the failure to reappoint him to the school board, Mr. Nichols and the Black Ministers Association called for a boycott of all white businesses in Philadelphia. The Black Panther party "heartily endorsed the boycott."

This he suggests "will intensify the antagonistic contradiction of an institution by a group whose minister of information once said 'F--- the Bible.' Part of the reason is, perhaps, that the minister of information, Eldridge Cleaver, is no longer part of the Newton-Sean faction of the party.

But another and intriguingly plausible explanation was offered by the East Village Other, a New York underground paper. It links the change of attitude toward the church with an incident early in 1971 when Mr. Newton was addressing a meeting of middle-aged blacks who seemed sympathetic to his stand. At the conclusion of the address, one woman rose to say that Mr. Newton and the Panthers had lost their souls and were going to hell.

Mr. Baker, chairman of the department of political science at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, N.J., wrote this article for The Washington Post.

INSIGHTS/SIDELIGHTS



RAYMOND H. ANDERSON
BIT BY AUSTERITY—Two shops on Cairo's Shawarby Street, a black market area, that have been ordered to close up or go into a new line of business. The goal is to narrow contrasts of privilege and poverty.

Goal Is a Work-Oriented Society

Cairo Feeling the Pinch of Austerity

By Raymond H. Anderson

Cairo (NYT)—The first signs of imposed austerity, especially for the privileged middle class, have begun to appear in Egypt as the "war economy" cabinet of Premier Aziz Sirdy drives to reallocate resources and to transform the country into an early-to-bed, work-oriented society.

Steel shanties have been drawn over the door and display windows of a hard-currency shop on Kasr el-Nil Street, a shopping oasis where Egyptians could buy French perfume, Japanese television and stereo sets, British textiles and other luxuries with no embarrassing questions from the authorities about the source of the foreign currency.

The middle class is to bear the brunt of the austerity measures, with workers and peasants to receive benefits according to plans, from a redistribution of resources and services.

Under the new austerity program, Egyptian television viewers have lost one of the three channels offering escape fare including old Hollywood films. The two remaining channels now go off the air sharply at 11 p.m. to encourage the viewers to go to bed and rest for the next day's work.

Cinemas and theaters have been given a deadline of today to redouble their programs to have audiences out and in their way home no later than 11 p.m.

To aid the drive, Cairo transit authorities are studying plans to suspend bus and streetcar service

at midnight, an hour and a half earlier than normal.

And to curb the owners of private cars, customs duties have been doubled to 200 percent on the purchase price of large imported automobiles, meaning that a \$3,000 Mercedes-Benz, for example, will be a \$15,000 investment. The price of gasoline has been raised by about five cents a gallon to put the total price of a gallon over 50 cents, or nearly the equivalent of the daily minimum wage.

Aid for Peasants

The middle class is to bear the brunt of the austerity measures, with workers and peasants to receive benefits according to plans, from a redistribution of resources and services.

In line with this program, prices have been raised for cement and other construction materials to make middle-class villages set up courier service to fly in luxuries from Lebanon, Kuwait and Europe for sale at extremely high prices.

Premier Sirdy has urged tighter labor discipline and punishment of "slackers."

Cabinet ministers might set an example of activism. Cairo's weekly *Akhbar el-Yom* proposed by turning off unneeded electric lights, checking water taps for drips and inspecting toilets for cleanliness.

Premier Sirdy has ordered re-

forms in the customs and travel regulations.

Mohammed Abdurrahman

deputy prime minister and minister of the economy, estimated that the illegal shops imported luxuries worth more than \$100 million in the last four years.

Mr. Marzhan also said that \$3,000 foreign automobiles had been brought into Egypt during the same period under shady circumstances.

Also under attack are the Egyptians' somewhat drowsy work habits, especially in the bureaucracy and state-owned enterprises. One critic estimated that the average government employee worked no more than three hours a day, devoting the rest of his time to drinking tea, going sailing and reading the newspaper.

A foreign visitor to one government office was startled to find a window-clerk peeling vegetables at her desk to save time after she arrived home, and a maid cleaning a nearby desk.

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'Artificial Brain' Overcomes Paralysis

By Sandra Blakeslee

MENLO PARK, Calif. (NYT)—A team of California researchers has developed an experimental "artificial brain" that has been used to restore a variety of movements in the limbs of partly paralyzed monkeys. It extended to humans, the technique might help stroke victims overcome paralysis.

A report of the scientists' work appears in the current issue of *Stroke* magazine, a bimonthly medical journal published by the American Heart Association. Dr. Lawrence E. Plumeo, of the Stanford Research Institute here, led the research effort. Co-authors of the report were Drs. Joel N. Kaplan and Edward A. Kipel of the institute, and Drs. Peter C. Reynolds and John H. Clark of the Stanford University School of Medicine.

In an interview at his office, Dr. Plumeo said the "brain prosthesis"—artificial or auxiliary brain—serves the same purpose as does an artificial heart, lung or kidney. All are devices and techniques for replacing the functions of those organs lost as a result of injury or disease. The researchers have not made an artificial "thinking" brain, but rather have learned how to replace a lost function of the brain by altering the function of the brain itself.

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Damage to Cortex

Primates including man, have a highly developed cortex, or outer portion of the brain. Such voluntary motor activities as the ability to move an arm or leg are directed from areas within the cortex. When a stroke or injury occurs within the cortex, certain command areas are often knocked out, and paralysis can result.

What Dr. Plumeo wondered was whether there were other parts of the brain that could direct motor activities. That is, could another, deeper part of the brain take over the lost motor function?

It was found that when subcortical structures of monkeys' brains were stimulated with electrodes, skeletal motor activity could indeed be prompted. Electrodes planted deep within the brain-stem area—where commands from the cortex are normally integrated—could evoke movements of the head, forelimbs, hindquarters and muscles of the face. Higher levels of behavior, including attack, withdrawal, sitting, standing, preening, eating come paralysis.

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In all cases it was found that the extent and complexity of the movement were directly related to electrical current strengths. That is, a slightly higher current stimulated a slightly larger area in the brain where the electrode was placed. As adjacent areas were stimulated, the movements became more complex.

The final step, Dr. Plumeo said, was to orchestrate the possible movements into coordinated motion. Since the combinations of movements could become complex, a computer was specially programmed to handle all the information and activate the electrodes in the proper sequence. The complete apparatus is called a Programmed Brain Stimulator, and it is, in effect, a brain prosthesis.

Monkey with brain prosthetic system for programmed stimulation. A stimulus has just caused the monkey to raise one arm and open its fist. At left is a Lind-8 computer; at right, a Programmed Brain Stimulator.

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Monkey with brain prosthetic system for programmed stimulation

PEANUTS



RIP KIRBY

KIRBY REACHES HOME AFTER A HARROWING EXPERIENCE.

BLONDIE



BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

The seven-diamond contract shown in the diagram went down when it could have been made.

Although six diamonds is the best contract available to North-South, this declarer decided to try for a grand slam. He knew that the contract would probably depend on locating the diamond queen but he was willing to take a gamble to recover some points he had lost earlier.

The opening lead against seven diamonds was the spade two, and South won with the ace in dummy and cashed his diamond ace. He intended to play East for the queen, but he changed his mind when West dropped his nine.

If this was a singleton, the slams chances of success were poor—finishing in trumps and then ruffing the third round of hearts would only succeed if East had begun with exactly three hearts. Moreover, it seemed

NORTH (D) ♠ AK8754 ♡ 103. ♢ A652 ♣ 8

WEST ♠ J82. ♡ 5. ♢ Q92 ♣ 743 ♦ Q107543 ♦ J952

SOUTH ♠ 6 ♡ AK8764 ♢ KJ108 ♣ AK

Neither side was vulnerable. The bidding:
North East South West
1 ♠ Pass 2 ♡ Pass
2 ♠ Pass 3 ♠ Pass
4 ♠ Pass 4 N.T. Pass
5 ♠ Pass 7 ♠ Pass
West led the spade two.

He could then have claimed the grand slam announcing that he would draw the last trump after reentering the closed hand with a spade ruff.

Solution to Friday's Puzzle

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z
ABCD	EFGH	IKLM	OPQR	STUV	WXYZ	ABCDEFGHIJKLMNPQRSTUVWXYZ																			
BORING	GOLDMINER	ENDOUGH	BEDIZERS	DICRISALL	TEET	SKYJAM	FITCH	RAHWOLF	FLAMMISER	ULTRALI	AMMUNITION	SHOOT	FEARLESS	SEPARATE	AMINUMAH	URISANDO	DUALLY	WILDFIRE	SPURRY	ANALLY	TTICL	THIS IS A WIE	HEISIAN	HISTORICAL	

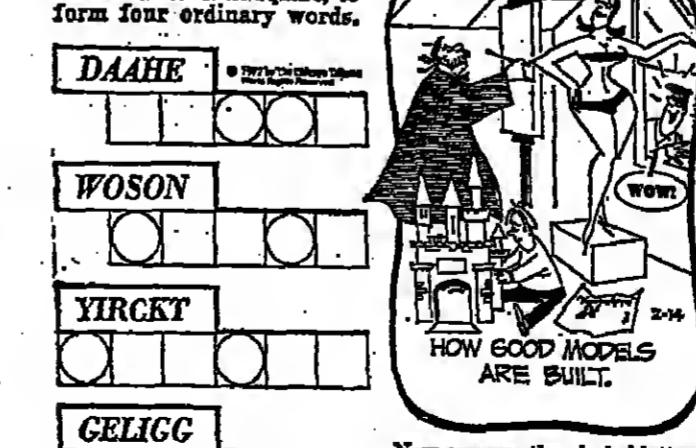
DENNIS THE MENACE



TWO POUNDS! THAT'S ONLY ONE POUND FOR ME AND ONE POUND FOR YOU! HOW ABOUT MOM?

JUMBLE

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.



Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

Print the SURPRISE ANSWER here:

(Answer tomorrow)
Saturday's Jumble: LINEN VISTA POETRY CONVEX
Answer: Your financial problems melt away when you're this—SOLVENT

BOOKS

THE DEAD OF THE HOUSE

By Hannah Green. Doubleday & Co. 180 pp. \$5.95.

Reviewed by Richard Elman

The Dead of the House is one of the most important works of fiction I have read in quite a while. It is not "major," proclaims no theories, participates in neither rear nor avant-garde maneuvers. Hannah Green's novel simply is, a family chronicle and a fictional memoir—always spontaneous, rich in atmosphere, its feelings specified, felt, projected. A beautiful book, nowhere bigger than itself, nowhere grander than its own scope or subject. It has been shaped with the caressing skill of a lover of people and words, but the words do not take over and perform a sideshow, and the people aren't always that lovable, and Hannah Green is aware of that, too.

She is writing about a once vigorous, adventurous Ohio family that is dying. The themes of her novel are imbedded in her narrator, or with self-contempt—but with love, with remorse, with a day-to-day sense of memory, and a sentient honesty about her feelings, her girlishness, about her need to leave all this behind, to leave home, to try to grow up, to find her own life apart.

A novel like this is a great antidote to the reader's own self-contempt. Hannah Green's Vanessa has rich gifts of pride, of human kindness, of memory. But none of this is as immediate to her, or serves her really as well, as her moments on the lake with her first boyfriend, which is experience apart from her family. And though she has not had an unhappy childhood, she has experienced the hurts that unfriendly adults deal out to homely, awkward children, and the cold envious rage of depressed mother-lovers.

In "The Dead of the House," the contempt of sister for sister is made to seem as casual as any childhood accident (a scraped knee perhaps). The death of a boy is made to seem as perfumily hurtful as a newspaper lobbed against your shin when you're sitting on the lawn. Nuclear families are said to be dying out, but they haunt us in this book, and they will live on in the mind and heart of every reader who has been tormented by the emotions they call forth.

The neuroticism of a protected childhood is made to seem so particular and vivid here that you end up caring, even though you happen to regard such a situation as vicious. The wonder of it is that—burdened with so much—we can ever be ourselves at all. That, when we are so little, we see and observe and remember so much; that we, over grow far enough out of our old selves to put the thing into perspective.

Hannah Green has spent most of her adult career working on this short novel. (Some of it appeared a few years back in the *New Yorker*.) It was time well spent, because she has managed to break through the shell of her bitterness and locate some of her great joyousness within that context—and, through it, to become

Best Sellers

The New York Times
This analysis is based on reports obtained from more than 130 bookstores in 44 communities of the United States. The figures in the right-hand column do not necessarily represent consecutive appearances.

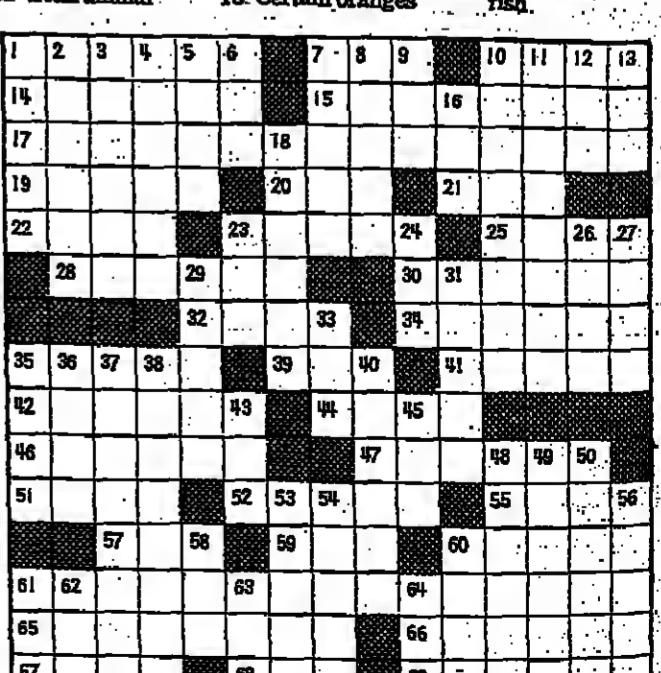
Week
Last Week
Week List
Fiction

1	The Winds of War, Book 1	1	1
2	Shenandoah	2	2
3	The Day of the Jackal	3	3
4	Portyak	4	4
5	The Exorcist, Blatty	5	5
6	Redwood Update	6	6
7	Masses From Mabon	7	7
8	Machines	8	8
9	The Betrayal, Robbins	9	9
10	Our Gang, Roth	10	10
11	Neverland, Christie	11	11
12	19 Year Island, MacLean	12	12
	GENERAL		
13	Eleanor, and Franklin, Lash	13	13
14	Tracy and Hepburn, Randy	14	14
15	My Year at Wrigley, Edward	15	15
16	Known, Brown	16	16
17	The Defense Never Rests, Bailey with Aronson	17	17
18	Vanilla, Volume Two, Moreau	18	18
19	Honor Thy Father, Taaffe	19	19
20	Brian Piccolo: A Short Story, Morris	20	20
21	Season of the Foxes, Farjeon	21	21
22	The Last Whole Earth Catalog, Portola Institute	22	22
23	Unnatural, Wimber, with McGeehan	23	23
	(These statistics are for the week ended Feb. 13.)		

CROSSWORD

By Will Weng

1	ACROSS	55	Not infrequent, in poems
2	Dick Tracy feature	56	Thread cutter
3	Zane Grey's was purple	57	Mars Prefix
4	Forest duo	58	Offspring
5	Surround	59	Until now
6	pectoralis	60	Ignores rocks
7	giant great	61	Dot
8	Fool	62	Lugosi
9	Responds	63	Welch name
10	Assists	64	Tolerance
11	Stone for one Ocean: Abbr.	65	Chaucer's inn
12	of eight	66	Plaines
13	Stop: Abbr.	67	Retardation
14	Indignation	68	Russian cart
15	One of five for reporters	69	Dose for poison swallows
16	Smoothed	70	Deranged one
17	Season	71	Pea and egg
18	Woolly	72	Old Norse poems
19	Sewed	73	Marner
20	Indigo	74	Poetic word
21	Pier union: Abbr.	75	Sea bird
22	Certain oranges	76	Controversial line
	DOWN	77	Collection of sayings
1	Spanish weddings	78	Type-setter's term: Abbr.
2	Kind of numerals	79	Long-beaked fish
3	Mexican painter		
4	Dowdle		
5	Old times, of old		
6	"team,"		
7	Bench sitter		
8	One of five for reporters		
9	Smoothed		
10	Received		
11	Incense wood		
12	Collection of sayings		
13	Indigo		
14	Pier union: Abbr.		
15	Certain oranges		



Spain's Ochoa Takes Slalom; Soviet 6 Wins

Skier Gives Country 1st Alpine Gold Ever

From Wire Dispatches

SAPPORO, Japan, Feb. 13.—Francisco Fernandez Ochoa, who prefers the safety of skiing to bull fighting, gave Spain its first Winter Olympic gold medal ever today by winning the special slalom here.

"If you make a mistake in the bull ring, it may cost your life. If you make a mistake on the slalom slope, you just blew another race," said Fernandez Ochoa, who didn't make a mistake today.

"Compared to me, El Cordobes [the Spaniard, who said]

"I played a little extra," beat the world's greatest special slalom stars in the closing Alpine event of the 11th Winter Games. It was his first "important" triumph.

A wide grin spreading his gawky face, Fernandez Ochoa still appeared amazed at his triumph four hours later.

"I hoped to get a medal," said Fernandez Ochoa, nicknamed Pequeno, "but I didn't think I was on the grade level to get the gold."

The 21-year-old from Gernarrina, near Madrid, flashed through his first run in 53.56 seconds to lead the 72 who started. He was the second racer to run in the one but 12th on the course on the second day.

Fernandez Ochoa, the son of a ski resort operator, knew that Italy's Gustavo Angert, the giant slalom gold medal winner, had made his second run in 53.56 and headed the two-run list at 1 minute 50.28 seconds.

"I had no strategy. I just wanted to attack," said the 136-pound Fernandez Ochoa. He flashed down his run in 53.91, a little slower than Thoeni but still fast enough to beat the Italian's second run time with a 1:49.27 clocking.

Angert just beat out his cousin, Roldano, who was timed in 1:50.30,

to win the bronze medal on a combined time of 1:50.30.

Fernandez Ochoa, who helps his father at the ski resort, also wants to become a sportswriter. But he says he doesn't have too much time for that, because, "I ski in Chile during the summer and in France during the winter."

He credits French world slalom champion Jean-Noel Augert with helping him during the current season.

Jean-Noel, who finished fifth today, suffered a bruised rib yesterday when he fell while acting as a forerunner in the qualification slalom.

French team doctor Marcel Bouvet placed a bandage around his chest and said Augert would receive a pain-killing injection before the event.

The once-proud French Alpine men's team finished this Olympics in sad shape. Four years ago, Jean-Claude Killy swept the gold medals for his homeland. This time they didn't win any gold.

Heinrich Duvillard of France finished fourth in 1:50.45.

The Italians placed a third after the first six when Ettore Schmid finished behind Augert in 1:50.43, (56.11 and 54.87).

Gustavo Thoeni was asked if Fernandez Ochoa's performance surprised him and answered, "I was not surprised after that first run because he was very good in that one." Gustavo also said, "This must go down as the biggest Olympic upset in history."

The Scoreboard

TRACK AND FIELD — At Hamilton, New Zealand, middle-distance running record for the women's 3,000-meter run was set by the Dutch-born runner, now living in New Zealand, ran 9:34 seconds in 18 minutes 18 seconds to break the mark held by the American Mary Halberg.

At Vancouver, British Columbia, Penny Werthner of Ottawa set a world indoor record for the women's 1,500-meter run. The Dutch-born runner, now living in New Zealand, ran 4:34 seconds in 18 minutes 18 seconds to break the mark held by the American Mary Halberg.

The Sapporo Games had no shortage of heroes and heroines, and one of the reasons for the Soviet success was the triple gold medal performance of 29-year-old schoolteacher Galina Kulakova in the grueling cross-country skiing events.



Fernandez Ochoa
... up in arms

Russia Tops in Gold as Games End

SAPPORO, Japan, Feb. 13 (Reuters)—The 11th Winter

Olympics, a mixture of controversy, upsets and brilliant athletic performances, ended here tonight with one but 12th on the course on the second day.

Fernandez Ochoa, the son of a ski resort operator, knew that Italy's Gustavo Angert, the giant slalom gold medal winner, had made his second run in 53.56 and headed the two-run list at 1 minute 50.28 seconds.

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The Scoreboard

FINAL MEDAL STANDINGS

Gold **Silver** **Bronze**
1. Soviet Union (Vladimir Voronov, Yuri Shefer, Piotr Strelkov, Vyacheslav Vedenin), 2. Norway, 3. Switzerland, 4. West Germany, 5. Poland, 6. United States, 7. East Germany, 8. Italy, 9. France, 10. Sweden, 11. Canada, 12. Austria, 13. Czechoslovakia, 14. Switzerland, 15. Poland, 16. France, 17. Italy, 18. West Germany, 19. Norway, 20. Canada, 21. Sweden, 22. Switzerland, 23. France, 24. Italy, 25. Poland, 26. Czechoslovakia, 27. Switzerland, 28. Norway, 29. France, 30. Italy, 31. Canada, 32. Sweden, 33. Switzerland, 34. France, 35. Italy, 36. Poland, 37. Canada, 38. Switzerland, 39. Norway, 40. France, 41. Italy, 42. Poland, 43. Canada, 44. Switzerland, 45. Norway, 46. France, 47. Italy, 48. Poland, 49. Canada, 50. Switzerland, 51. Norway, 52. France, 53. Italy, 54. Poland, 55. Canada, 56. Switzerland, 57. Norway, 58. France, 59. Italy, 60. Poland, 61. Canada, 62. Switzerland, 63. Norway, 64. France, 65. Italy, 66. Poland, 67. Canada, 68. Switzerland, 69. Norway, 70. France, 71. 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